census is late under way. For comparative purposes, all we have is Tannous's statement that in Bshiddin, a mostly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Bshiddin, Mejdel, and Ghazzeer (Tannous, 1950a, p. 260).

HEALTH

With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practices and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Khakhulin & Goldich, 1936, p. 464). Mejdel has been a predominantly endogamous population for thirteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of parents, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

The boarding school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	3
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Skilled attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Barber	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in Ituli. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-45

Age	Men		Women		Age	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married		Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	39	0	27	0	30-34	4	7	4	7
20-24	30	1	17	7	35-39	1	4	3	11
25-29	13	0	16	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From fifteen to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age-groups concerned; this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an elder brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0– 1	6	7– 8	4
1– 2	3	8– 9	3
2– 3	3	9–10	3
3– 4	3	10–11	5
4– 5	7	11–12	4
5– 6	9	12–13	2
6– 7	3	13–14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 15-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" women's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

562 462 riage. The most popular occupation, nursing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because *it* is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

167 It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,300,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 416) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munsif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munsif but none since the 1920's.

[177] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from drawing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $19,000,000 in 1924 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 18).

The people of Munsif have done their share in the process of emigration.

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SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

IN the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 56–60).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Summer Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Munqif's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they clearly prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled restrictively. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khaṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousin. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

584 Young
[R31] men and women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, chaperoned, either by elders or by the presence of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jordanian town of Ramallah which is comparable to Munṣif in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Zarour, 1953, p. 437).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One older person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not disinterested in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the man will formally request the girl's father's
583 approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face severe family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Generally, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her father. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely at variance with the ordinary practice which is underlain by the notion: "The woman may not come into the man's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite neatly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but doubtless they involve disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, fewer presents.

The bride price (*mahr* or *naqd*) is still negotiated for among Muslims. It was asked about by name in Munṣif, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chémali (1915–16, p. 917) and Safi (1917–18, p. 135) report the bride price among Maronite mountaineers, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical contention of the Munṣifiin. On the other hand, Miss Zarour (1953, p. 436) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascer-
[585] tained, the couple receives presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal measure from both families and from friends.

512 So far, it would appear that matches are made by the virtual free choice of
584 the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we confirmed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

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On the average, the marrying couple of the present day are both members of the village, the man is several years older than the girl, and has been supporting himself for some time. They are married in the church and then proceed to the groom's house for a long and riotous party, if they conform to traditional practices. Lately, however, the party immediately after the ceremony has in many cases given way to the couple's departure on a honeymoon, though a party may be held after they return. If the marriage involves a girl from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī, the ceremony is performed in her parents' house, and the party, if any, is held at the groom's house. Among other things, this symbolizes the adoption of the girl into her husband's village and family.

A Wedding. The following account of a wedding and the party following it is a description of the one wedding and wedding party which took place while the writer was present in the village. This wedding was different from most because the bride (*al-'aruus*) was from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī. The ceremony, therefore, took place in her father's house to which the party of the groom (*al-'ariis*) traveled in a short procession of automobiles. Many acts in the series of events were later checked for their generality of practice, and the description omits various items of behavior which appeared clearly to be of a purely individual nature. There was also a peculiar mixture of old and new—an old ceremony and old customs, yet the automobiles and the clothes were all evidence of the cultural change that had occurred.

As the Munṣif party got out of their cars and gathered themselves together, members of the bride's party, who had been on the terrace of her house, moved down and stopped at a point on the narrow path halfway between the house and the road. The *darbakky* (drum) was being beaten inside the house, and there were many high-pitched cries and shouts.

The visitors moved down to the bridal group and stopped. Owing to the narrowness of the path, neither group was in a cluster. An older man in *shirwal* and *ṭarbuush* seemed to be barring the way with a long stick. One younger man was firing blanks from a pistol. Young men on both sides sent up the cry, heard constantly from then on: *Ii-yay, al-'ariis azzan* ("Cheers for the excellent groom")! —and the same for the bride. There were many informal shouts and calls between various persons—evidently all welcoming phrases.

The groom's party stood still for perhaps five minutes, and then moved ahead between members of the bride's party who shook hands with everyone—*ahlan wa sahlan; mbarak; nshallah titbunnaa.* All the members of the greeting party were men except for a couple of old women. All the younger women remained in the house. "The groom's group may not enter the house until it has been bid welcome," someone said afterwards.

There was a huge throng milling around inside. The bride, not yet in wedding dress, was standing in the center of the *maq'ad* surrounded by girls her own age—sisters, cousins, and friends. Her head was bowed and she was crying. Some

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syncratic, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's, family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Munṣif return (*nirjiʿ*) to Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 5 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zarour, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

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601 to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a patrilateral second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is exactly the same, in reversed order: *ibn ibn khayy abu bayyi*. Obviously such awkward designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given above, a Munṣifi would say, "Yes, he is my *ibn 'amm*, but of course everyone knows he is not my father's brother's son (*ibn khayy bayyi*). He is my *ibn 'amm*, but there are six faces (*sitti wujuuh*) between us."

"Face"-counting is a short-hand device for reckoning the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four faces, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest connection between them. This is a sibling relationship, rather than a common ancestor.

In any case, we now see that *ibn 'amm* can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says *ibn 'amm*, one means first cousin only, and this is by aiding the word *laazim* to the base term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) encountered exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word itself is derived from the root LZM which denotes compulsion, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Munṣif. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of it. Patrilateral parallel cousins, of course, have one set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these statuses are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparent terms is sufficient simply because reference to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculative, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

582 601 Much more striking is the use of *'amm* in address to the father-in-law. Davies (1949, pp. 249–50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Now, however, consider the Munṣifi who says *'amm* to his father-in-law, yet whose Church forbids, ordinarily, the marriage of *all* first cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there were no indications of it in Munṣif.

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601 used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avuncular, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[576] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Munşif, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

582 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munşif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Munşif, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance *was* denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

582 613 At the present time, one's particular maximal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's maximal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Munşif. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

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the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by asking the informant to state the number of faces between the husband-wife pairs on the census sheets. His immediate reaction was to count the faces patrilineally

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TABLE 9. CLOSEST DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

DEGREE	NUMBER	FAMILY OF HUSBAND	TYPE OF MARRIAGE
First cousin	2	B.XII. 45	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.XI. 43	In Max. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	5	B.XII. 44	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 20	In Max. Lin.
		C.XVI. 56	In Min. Lin
		C.XXI. 76	Out. Max. Lin.
		C.XX. 67	Out. Max. Lin.
Second cousin	5	A.I. 1	In Max. Lin.
		A.III. 4	In Max. Lin.
		B.XII. 46	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VII. 19	In Min. Lin.
		C.XIV. —	In Min. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	6	A.X. 38	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 26	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI. 16	In Max. Lin.
		A.III. 3	In Max. Lin.
		A.X. 42	In Min. Lin.
		C.XVI. 59	Out. Max. Lin.
Third cousin	11	A.VIII. 21	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI. 15	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 22	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 25	In Max. Lin.
		A.IX. 34	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 29	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 30	In Min. Lin.
		C.XXI. 77	Out. Max. Lin.
		C.XV. 53	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.V. 12	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.IV. 9	In Max. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.VIII. 27	In Max. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	54	— —	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When it was explained to him that the *closest* relationship patrilineally *or* matrilaterally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Between many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" faces. These

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582 cases have arbitrarily been put into the "fourth cousin or more distant" category, 613 which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different minimal lineages, but of different maximal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

621 Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely pre- 582 ferred. Although exogamous marriages are now fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purposes of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qurni, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and consider, first, the intra-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages at the minimal lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the column which represents the types of intra-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary reference of men, we observe that:

1. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
2. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 8 to 1, as against "B" women.
3. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 2, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

1. A large proportion (44 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
2. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
3. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

1. There are 43 women who have been taken *from* their own maximal lineage.
2. There are 45 women who have been taken *by* their own maximal lineage.
3. There are 40 men who have taken wives from their own maximal lineage.
4. There are 40 men who have taken wives from other maximal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Extra-village marriages do not seriously affect the roughly 51–49 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for intra-village marriage.)

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TABLE 10. CORE GROUP: MARRIAGE PATTERNS BY LINEAGE

LINEAGE	MARRIED MALES			MARRIED FEMALES			TO AF	TO QURNI (MOSTLY MALES)	TO OUTSIDERS (MOSTLY FEMALES)	TOTAL NO. HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL POPULATION
	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.					
A.....	8	19	14	8	20	22	2	15	19	44	252
I.....	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	10
II.....	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
III....	—	4	1	—	3	2	—	—	1	4	31
IV.....	—	1	3	—	2	1	—	—	3	3	20
V.....	—	—	3	—	5	3	—	3	4	5	31
VI.....	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	3	22
VII...	1	—	1	1	3	1	—	—	1	3	10
VIII..	5	7	1	5	3	9	—	4	3	14	81
IX.....	1	2	1	1	2	2	—	2	1	3	12
X.....	1	1	2	1	—	3	2	3	1	6	25
XI.....	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B.....	0	1	8	0	3	9	0	2	3	6	42
XII...	—	1	6	—	2	7	—	1	2	4	30
XIII..	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	1	1	2	12
C.....	2	10	18	2	12	12	0	2	8	31	184
XIV..	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	1	1	3	20
XV....	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	11
XVI..	1	—	3	1	4	2	—	1	2	5	25
XVII..	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	14
XVIII	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	10
XIX..	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	3	13
XX....	—	3	3	—	2	3	—	—	2	8	58
XXI..	—	2	3	—	2	4	—	—	1	3	31
Deceased.....								—	1		
AF 3-7.....								—	3		
AF 1-4.....								—	1		
AF 1-2.....								1	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages outside maximal lineages and inside them are almost exactly evenly divided. This is

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582 what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following
613 facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty
621 choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of
[588] the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households *could*, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. In contradistinction to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that
[554] in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

621 For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until re-
613 cently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were mutually
582 exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

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the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zarour, 1953, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, hence of moiety, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward retrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothecated retrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of divisive moiety endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

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621 613 582 2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C"; and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in Munṣif is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the maximal lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

582 In Munṣif, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and *their* children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Munṣif), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of as long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muḥammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

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possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

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This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the *tie* of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this hard world in whom I can put *my* full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—*my* brother, *my* father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1932, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsmen and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to clearly specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

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Obviously the conflict comes to a head in Mazgif in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

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582 588 The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the denotation of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act excites horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Mutnjif *is not* incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, not even from mild ridicule. The fact *was* singled out for remark as being unusual, against the formal rules, and therefore requiring an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

582 606 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *jaleb* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

428 The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Mutnjif, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zeevee (1955, p. 437) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

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Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to sons of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were 'ahlil, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual sibling tie in the second generation. Ordinarily the *zikkin* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arrab*) of the children, while the *zikkina* becomes their godmother (*'arraba*). Between the godchildren (masc., *fal'awa*; fem., *fal'awa*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *zikkin* and *zikkina*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qurai (marriages within the Qurai are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

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after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of these now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munqif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munqif. The marriage of women to out-

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

	Endogamous		Exogamous					
Date	Village	Quru	Greek Orthodox	Other Christian	Muslim	Total Endog.	Total Exog.	% Exog.
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	3	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

siders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying in *Al-mar'a bilad* applies, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munşif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Moslem wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religious control somewhat and has passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munşif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said. There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munşif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munşif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

[illegible] has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around four major themes each ... which organizes action and functions emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1945, p. 334 ff.), kinship (ibid., p. 337 ff.), and religion (ibid., p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called extended lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> A member of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the prominence of dominant families. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "uncle," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on all Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Muscat, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflict or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1945, p. 338.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the present and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954), in somewhat different form.

is also a discrete example of Sphere 3 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox enclave in a Moslem area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Lévi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qusair, the marriages of Mustafas to members of other Qusair villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Mustafas have always married each other.

The culture of Mustafa functions conformably to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It is an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qusair, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qusair, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 3).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of Mustafa, we find that it is, according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy, rather than endogamy, is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not closely endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in Mustafa has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it [illegible] between pagan Arabic and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1933, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 3 (Sect); and Mustafa's Sphere 3 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect powers so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear really to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy does occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage exclusive (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakening in the adherence of the Mountfalcon to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of formalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term commonly reserved for a man who takes a wife from one's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Mountfalcon as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE: CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1950, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that *pre-existing configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be factors in change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 631/196

" . . . I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem . . ." [532]

7. From three sons to their father, N. B. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 22rd, 1905. 632/196 573

" . . . Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. . . . Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the followers. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. . . . Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. . . ."

8. From M. Sarkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

" . . . Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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THE MODAL INTERVAL FOR AGE AT LAST

532 marriage is between twenty-six and thirty. Over half of the sample married between twenty-one and thirty. The incidence of child marriage is quite low (.3%) while only one-tenth delayed marriage until thirty-six or later.

3.32 Female head of household and wife of household head. Table 12

When it comes to age at marriage, we find a considerable difference for women as compared to men. Only one percent are unmarried compared to eight percent of the men. Marriage occured earlier, with eighteen percent married at the age of fifteen or younger compared to the men's three-tenths of one percent. The modal age of marriage is in the interval sixteen to twenty (45%) and the second highest frequency is twenty-one to twenty-five (22%). By the age of twenty-five, then, eighty-five percent of the female household heads and wives of heads were married.

[592]

Far fewer than among the men marry at thirty-six or over (.8%).

3.33 Children of head of household. Table 13.

592 Surprisingly, over ninety-seven percent of the children residing in the sample households are unmarried. This figure probably reflects the influence of urbanization. In addition, it is a symptom of a tendency to set up individual households when married. Of those who are married, the modal age is between twenty-one and twenty-five.

532

The detailed breakdown of age at marriage for the first seven children and for the eighth through twelfth child, grouped, are shown in the table.

3.34 Father of head of household. Table 14

592 There were just twenty-five fathers of heads of household in the sample, while there
532 were two hundred and thirty-one mothers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the presumed greater incidence of widows, based on our knowledge of the age difference between men and women at marriage, and also by the gre-

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ter life span of females. About thirty-two percent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex differrance as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, fifty-one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

Table 11

Age at Marriage of Male Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1665	100	
15 and under	5	0.30	
16 - 20	187	11.23	.008
21 - 25	635	37.33	.010
26 - 30	473	28.41	.011
31 - 35	230	13.81	.008
36 and over	182	10.93	.007
Unmarried	135	7.37	.006
No Answer	7	0.42	

Table 12

Age at Marriage of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1665	100	
15 and under	307	18.22	.010
16 - 20	755	44.81	.012
21 - 25	366	21.72	.010
26 - 30	176	10.45	.007
31 - 35	44	2.61	.004
36 and over	14	0.83	
Unmarried	17	1.00	
No Answer	6	0.36	

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Table 13

Age at Marriage of Children of Head of Household

Age	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1283	100.00	961	100.00
15 and under	13	0.26		9	0.61	2	0.16	1	0.10
16 - 20	31	0.61		20	1.36	10	0.08	–	–
21 - 25	80	1.58	.001	40	2.73	14	1.13	3	0.32
26 - 30	35	0.54		22	1.50	3	0.24	1	0.10
31 - 35	8	0.16		1	0.07	3	0.24	1	0.10
36 and over	1	0.00		1	0.07	–	–	–	–
Unmarried	4929	97.14	.002	1368	98.35	1250	97.34	955	98.38
No Answer	3	0.06		–	–	1	0.00	–	–

4th Ch/64	Percent	5th Ch/64	Percent	6th Ch/64	Percent	7th Ch/64	Percent	8-12th Ch/64	Percent
621	100.00	280	100.00	234	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
1	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3	0.48	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
616	98.20	280	100.00	234	100.00	107	100.00	78	97.44
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2.56

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Table 14

Age at Marriage
of Father of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	25	100
15 and under	2	8.00
16 - 20	6	24.00
21 - 25	5	20.00
26 - 30	5	20.00
31 - 35	2	8.00
36 and over	4	16.00
No Answer	1	4.00

Table 15

Age at Marriage
of Mother of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	cp.
Total	232	100	
15 and under	67	28.88	.650
16 - 20	102	43.97	.652
21 - 25	32	13.79	
26 - 30	11	4.74	
31 - 35	1	0.43	
36 and over	–	–	
No Answer	19	8.19	

19 Churchill S-6 (1958) 1954 NEI Lebanon 193

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Table 16

ge at Marriage
of Father-i-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	4	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	25.00
21 - 25	1	25.00
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	2	50.00
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	–	–

Table 17

Age at Marriage
of Mother-in-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	51	100
15 and under	11	21.57
16 - 20	23	45.10
21 - 25	9	17.65
26 - 30	1	1.96
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	7	13.72

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15; Churchill v. [illegible] (1888) 1951 MEI Lawsuit MEI

Table 18

Age at Marriage of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	212	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	.47
21 - 25	–	–
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
Unmarried	211	99.53

Table 19

Age at Marriage of Siblings of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	ep
Total	339	100	
15 and under	3	.84	
16 - 20	13	3.35	
21 - 25	11	3.07	
26 - 30	9	2.51	
31 - 35	7	1.96	
36 and over	5	1.40	
Unmarried	309	86.32	.0328
No Answer	2	.56	

[illegible]

Table 20

Age at Marriage
of Other Family Members in Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
15 and under	8	2.78	.838
16 - 20	76	26.39	
21 - 25	21	7.29	
26 - 30	13	4.51	
31 - 35	5	1.74	
36 and over	2	0.69	
[illegible]	159	55.21	.929
No Answer	4	1.39	

Table 21

Age at Marriage
of Servants of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
15 and over	3	.84	
16 - 20	11	3.05	
21 - 25	3	.30	
26 - 30	4	1.11	
31 - 35	4	.47	
36 and over	—	—	
[illegible]	337	93.37	.933
No Answer	39	0.36	

A12

Table 22

Distribution of Male Head of Household
by Year Married,
Showing or Presumptive Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
1940 - Present	—	—	
1930 - 1940	251	15.08	.908
Before 1930	1413	84.90	.908
No Answer	1	0.06	

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15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M.[illegible] Lebanon MEI
by Asst Millward MD C

TABLE 9

Results of observations for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, eye color, hair color, and skin color on four tribes of Syrian Bedouin. In per cents.

Tribe	Number	Taste reaction +	Taste reaction —	Tribe	Number	Mid-digital hair +	Mid-digital hair —
Rwala	178	58.9	40.1	Rwala	126	44.8	55.4
Aqaïdat	53	69.8	30.7	Aqaïdat	70	41.4	58.6

Tribe	Number	Eye pigmentation 1	2	3	4	Number	Hair pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	301	0	1.3	96.1	38.6	170	0	1.1	49.8	53.7
Aqaïdat	73	0	11.1	78.9	8.7	61	0	1.8	36.1	61.9

Tribe	Number	Skin pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	166	7.1	47.5	45.0	0.4
Aqaïdat	73	8.8	47.9	39.7	4.1

The Bedouin taste results are not notably different from those of the city dwellers; there seems to be a somewhat lower incidence of mid-digital hair, the eye and skin pigmentation is definitely darker, the hair is perhaps somewhat darker. Allowing for the great differences in nomenclature, this difference seems to agree fairly well with that found by Shanklin ('35).

Perhaps our data, in spite of their crudeness, and the small numbers of subjects represented, will contribute to some small degree to a filling out of our knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in this part of the world. The importance of systematic surveys of the frequency of individual genes, such as the "tasting" gene, is beginning to be appreciated (Boyd, '40).

Effect of inbreeding. It is not uncommon in anthropological papers to see differences between various local populations ascribed to inbreeding. It has even been suggested that "races" may be created by a process depending partly on inbreeding. It is likely that the word inbreeding, as used by some authors, has been corrupted from its correct genetical significance, and perhaps is really meant to be synonomous with endogamy, or something of the sort. As the geneticist uses the word, it means mating among close relatives. Others

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M[illegible]

have remarked that actually the effect of inbreeding is transitory, in the sense that one generation of random mating would restore the population to the condition in which it started, so that the process can hardly have the importance apparently sometimes attributed to it (compare Boyd, '40). There has probably been a good deal of inbreeding in all of the villages studied by us. In the cases of Bourij, we are fortunate in having a sample of a population known to be relatively highly inbred. From a study carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller, we know that marriages between cousins are very common, as are consanguineous marriages where the relationship is less close. Almost the entire population of the village can be traced back to three or four family lines. The blood groups and the M,N types offer a means of checking the extent of the effect of inbreeding on the population.

It is known from genetics that the effect of inbreeding on a population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes and decrease the proportion of heterozygotes, and if the process is carried far enough, pure homozygote types will emerge in the same proportion (if selection or mutation play no role) as the frequencies of their genes in the original population (Robbins, '17).

With the M,N types, the heterozygote is type MN, and type M and type N are homozygous. If the inbreeding had modified these frequencies in the population of Bourij very much, we should find that type M and type N were relatively more numerous than would normally be found, so that we should have the relation:

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} > 1$$

Actually, it may be seen from table 1 that in Bourij the heterozygote, MN, was slightly (but not significantly) in excess of the theoretical maximum of 50%, and we find

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} - 0.002 < 1$$

Thus there is no evidence that inbreeding has increased the proportion of the homozygotes in the M,N types.

In the case of the A,B groups, the only group which is known a priori to be heterozygous is the AB group, which is

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than $2pq$ (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, $2pq$ does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Ifaorij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Ifaorij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modifications of the average local human population.[1]

[illegible]

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, basic reactions to phenylthiocarbamide, mid-digital hair, nail eye, hair, and skin pigmentations are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commissariat in Accounts, and to [illegible] particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Sheppard B. Motley Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937-38, for assistance and hospitality in Ifaorij; to the Trefalet family for hospitality and assistance to fieldworkers; and to Drs. Berberian and Kassatly for help with the Armenian work. Miss Doyle visited Dra and got in touch with the Druze village of Mashiya. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of these we extend our best thanks.

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621 178 were to be fundamentally resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working peasants, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

621 178 112 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and bases of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligations to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

621 178 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1954, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to conformists, but 11 were reminders of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

621 178 363 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the various, and these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education — and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true — he has become ambitious, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morale, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified durations, members of the community read his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, the joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists usually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to the family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family lacking has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.